

Please ref. with the
Authors compliments
PEACE OR WAR? *and best*

THE
QUESTION CONSIDERED

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO

THE DIFFERENCES EXISTING

BETWEEN THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AND

GREAT BRITAIN.

BY A

CLERGYMAN OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

LATELY RESIDENT IN AMERICA.

O what are these?
Death's ministers, not men! Who thus deal death
Inhumanly to man: and multiply
Ten thousand fold the sin of him who slew
His brother; for, of whom such massacre
Make they, but of their brethren, men of men?

MILTON.

LONDON:
SAMUEL HOLDSWORTH, AMEN CORNER,
PATERNOSTER ROW.
1839.

CLARKE, Printers, Silver Street, Falcon Square, London.

PEACE OR WAR?

Few things are more striking to the considerate mind than the rapidity with which changes come over the political horizon. All may be serene and bright around, and may seem to promise an indefinite period of tranquillity and happiness; when suddenly the cloud arises, and though, at first, it be not bigger than a man's hand, soon descends in torrents, and overwhelms the plains. The cause of this is obvious. War, in general, is described in Scripture as proceeding from our lusts which war in our members,* and the reason of the suddenness of its threatenings or its appearance is similar;—the inflammable nature of man's passions; the eagerness with which every real or even imaginary insult is resented; the mutual criminations and taunts which are bandied from party to party, till, whatever may have been the original causes of pro-

* James iv. 1.

vocation, the secondary or superseding causes are far greater. Just as, in the exercise of memory, we often almost lose sight of the objects which produced the first impression, and remember only our remembrances, so in the case of national quarrels, the first affront or injury soon falls into comparative obscurity through the evil tempers and evil actions to which it has given birth. "Behold," saith St. James, "how great a matter a little fire kindleth; and the tongue is a fire, a world of iniquity; so is the tongue among our members, that it defileth the whole body, and setteth on fire the course of nature, and it is set on fire of hell."*

But this fact of the torrent-like impetuosity of the passion for arms, a fact to which all history bears witness; and of which we have at the present moment but too painful an evidence, in the suddenness with which two great and friendly nations; or, rather, two divisions of a people—the same, to a great extent, in origin, the same in literature, in language, in taste, and in religion—are placing themselves in opposition to each other; and forgetful, to a great extent, of the law of kindness, and of all the peculiar ties which should bind them together, are menacing each other with the horrors of war; is of itself sufficient to claim the most forbearing temper of mind in all interested in the matter, to make us anxious for that calm-

* James iii. 6.

ness of spirit which alone gives wisdom; and to lead us to reflect on the probable consequences of any hasty or intemperate acts.

It is with the view of urging these considerations upon his brethren, both British and American, that the writer ventures to address these pages to the public. He is aware of the limited extent alike of his powers and of his influence. He wishes they were far greater, for the sake of that cause of humanity and religion which he has at heart. But, such as they are, they are dedicated intensely in this matter to the promotion of the interests and happiness, and highest honour of the two countries. And he may be permitted to plead in extenuation of his boldness in coming forward in the work—a work, in so far as it is political, opposed to his tastes, that he has passed some years in the United States, that he has not a few affectionate friendships there, as well as at home, and that while, as an Englishman, he dwells with gratitude on much of the history of his own country, as one who rejoices in the happiness of the world, he feels a lively interest in “the experiment in government which is being made on a large scale,” to use the words of Paley, on the other side of the Atlantic; and yet as one who is sure, that whatever may be the form of government, there must be other and higher principles at work than any mere legislation can supply for the essential comfort and superiority of a people

viz., the principles of virtue and goodness, of justice and patience from man towards his fellow.

Of all the ills that human hearts endure,
How small the part that laws can cause or cure;
Still to ourselves in every place consigned,
Our own felicity we make or find.

In entering on the proposed subject, it will be important that the attention of the reader should be called to the general question of the nature and consequences of war. It is to be feared that, by very many, this point has never been regarded as it deserves to be. There is something highly captivating to the mind in the narrative of martial achievements. It would almost appear as though there were a kind of spiritual conspiracy to place the genius of war before the human imagination in so fascinating an attire and attitude as to render it resistless. The hideousness of its features is studiously concealed, while every thing that can give it attraction is cast around it. Many of the noblest and best spirits of each successive age have followed warfare as a profession, the highest energies are called forth in its pursuit, the whole of science is laid under contribution in order to success in it; while the gaudy colours, the music, the "magnificently stern array" with which it meets us, dazzle the senses, and ensnare the thoughts. Historians, too, and poets and painters have been lavish in their sa-

crifices to the demon, while the milder virtues have been untold and unsung. Of the millions who have sought to fulfil in peace, and by daily duty, the ends of their rational nature, almost all have passed away in obscurity, while the hero, as he is called;—the man who has imbrued his hand in blood, who has swept along as a pestilence, carrying dismay and death every where in his path—has been held up to the admiration of the world, and become an object of imitation, though often deserving only of universal abhorrence.

It is with such warnings that Milton, with a feeling infinitely superior to many who have built the lofty verse, makes the prophetic Michael address our first father.

For in those days might only shall be admired,
And valour, and heroic virtue, called:
To overcome in battle, and subdue
Nations, and bring home spoils with infinite
Man-slaughter, shall be held the highest pitch
Of human glory; and for glory done
Of triumph, to be styl'd great conquerors,
Patrons of mankind, gods, and sons of gods:
Destroyers rightlier called, and plagues of men.
Thus fame shall be achiev'd, renown on earth;
And what most merits fame, in silence hid.

We are scarcely aware of the false taste which exists almost every where on this topic. Our education is usually highly martial. This is not said merely of those who are being trained to the profes-

sion of arms but of the whole of society. What form the prominent objects in the books we read, the pictures on which we gaze, the statues and monuments which surround us, and which have fired our imagination in youth? Are they not too often only deeds of blood? Indeed, the civilised nations have profited so highly by this perpetual indoctrination of the glories of war, and have altogether made such little advances above a state of barbarism in this respect, that they are always prepared for an outbreak; and minds who would recoil from the destruction of a beetle will talk of the "imminent deadly breach," and the strife of contending millions of their fellow men, their brethren, their fellow Christians, those who should be heirs with them of the peaceful glories of the beatified state, without either regret or aversion. Especially, perhaps, among a people like the British, whose fame has been greatly made by warlike deeds, and who have not for generations experienced the march of hostile troops through their borders, and to whom therefore war is known in comparatively few of its fiercer woes; or like the Americans, whose history is chiefly before them, and who, in so far as they have been engaged in conflict, have not been without success; especially among such peoples is the unholy spirit likely to be rife.

In this instance these nations are indeed, as has been hinted, greatly formed upon one mould,

and a similarity of spirit naturally is found where a similarity of education and of circumstances has gone before. It is then just in the proportion in which so vicious and mischievous a propensity may be likely to prevail among them, that they need to be reminded of true principles, in this respect, to ponder seriously the nature and consequences of war—to unlearn, if it be possible, this portion of their education, and to seek that pure and heavenly wisdom which shall lead them to live not only in peace, but in relations of the truest amity. I shall not soon forget the different emotions with which I visited the monument of General Brock, the commander who fell in the English service at Queenston; and the spot near Philadelphia where the wise and peaceful Penn made his treaty with the Indians. The one place is a barren eminence, whence the useless but costly tower, built to commemorate the event, seems to frown defiance at the neighbouring states, from which it is only separated by the Niagara, the stream of which hurries by as though unwilling to linger in a scene of blood. The latter is a piece of ground in a valley hard by the wide and tranquil Delaware, and now indeed is gradually being covered with houses and resounds with the hum of commerce. Apt emblems both of the results of war and of peace!

It was in gazing on these and other such scenes that I first had my consciousness fully awakened

to the evils of war. During my residence at home I had of course heard of the march of hostile armies, and of the career, sometimes brilliant, sometimes unfortunate, which they had made; yet, though always averse to strife, I confess I had never become fully possessed with the idea of its results; but as I visited one field of slaughter after another, and was told here the British drove the Americans over the heights, bayoneting the rear, and causing the advanced in flight to fall and perish in the river beneath; there again the Americans received the order to restrain their fire till they could see the whites of the eyes of the advancing column of British, and then with the most deadly aim with musketry and grape shot let fly upon them:—here again a party of French grenadiers found a line of British drawn up three deep on the verge of a precipice, and, charging, thrust them

Sheer o'er the craggy barrier:—

and there the Indians—the *Heathen* children of the forest—led to engage in the fight, be it remembered, by the conflicting *Christians*—fell upon the village at midnight, and tomahawked and scalped the inhabitants, and set the houses in a flame, reducing in a few hours the fruits of years of virtuous industry to the solitude, though not to the awful beauty, of the natural forest;—when, I say, my mind was conversant with such scenes, how could it fail of being greatly

exercised on the subject of war, or how can I be satisfied now that a crisis has again arrived without urging each party to consideration before they venture upon conduct which may produce similar, but yet more dreadful crimes.

For let the real nature of war be reflected upon. What is it? It is the endeavour to gain by force some end on which the national mind is fixed. It is like a private quarrel, in which instead of seeking to make up the matter amicably, or even of having recourse to the methods of arbitration which the law may supply, the parties shall determine in a spirit of revenge to do all the injury possible to each other, not stopping short of death.

It must be owned indeed that nations are not placed in precisely the situation of individuals, because there is no international judicature to bind a country as there is a domestic judicature to compel an individual convicted of wrong doing; but this difference is in effect less than it may at first sight appear to be; for while on the one hand desperate individuals can readily evade human laws, and are in fact in such a state of mind often found to do so, nations on the other hand might often adjust disputes among themselves, or appeal to the decision of some disinterested third party;—so that the case in which war may be deemed unavoidable is an extremity of the most rare occurrence, if it ever arise at all.

Thus then, in effect, the cases of war and of private conflict may be considered as very nearly parallel;

with the exception that in the instance of the individuals the combat has the extenuation of being usually a matter derived from personal resentment, and is also very limited in its results; while war is carried on by parties between whom no cause of personal enmity can be pleaded, and blasts with its fatal influences half a continent or half a world. What is the number of men, I ask, which Britain has lost in her wars during the last 200 years? Who can compute it? Shall I venture too much if I offer the supposition that it has been a sixth average portion of her inhabitants during that time? How many again fell through the influences of war in our last dreadful campaigns? Would 10,000,000 restore to Europe the number of her fallen sons? Is, then, human life too long, that we need thus to shorten that which, left to stretch itself out to its greatest limit, is but "as a tale that is told?" or is earth too happy that we thus call forth the devouring sword to add to its sorrows and its pains? or is our globe over populous that we are fain to thin its inhabitants by this moral pestilence? Surely the wilds of America and of Australia, not to speak of our own land, may yet bear an influx of people, which must render such a cause quite needless. But it is not only in the pains of death, in the circumstance of multitudes of the very flower of earth being cut down, "as the grass whereof the mower filleth not his hand, neither he that gathereth sheaves his bosom," that we trace the sufferings produced by war, Sickness,

brokenness of constitution, mutilation for life, — a miserable exit, amid blood and wounds and oaths, and the roar of cannon, or in the wretched hospital, or on the parched or frozen ground—unwept, unpitied, ungazed on by the eye of wife or mother or friend, may await the combatants; — they have generally with a light heart entered into their profession, and volunteered the probabilities of arms: but there are others who must know scarcely less of anguish, and who are innocent of this great transgression. Yes, the widow, the orphan, the parent who had hoped that his son would be the staff of age; these all learn the bitterness of war. Anxiety and care cloud the soldier's and the seaman's home,—he who gladdened it is gone—when he is next heard of how can they tell whether it shall be in the mad flush, the insolent triumph of victory, or whether the formal gazette shall announce that he has perished with a multitude of others amid scenes of blood.

If the warrior's perils and sufferings call not forth our compassions, surely at least, unless our hearts be stone, we cannot fail of sympathizing in the anxieties and sorrows of those who are interested in his welfare, or dependent upon his aid. Let an accident happen in the neighbourhood in which we dwell, what concern is felt, and that most properly, for the sufferer; what enquiries are made of the friends, what condolences with them. Every one in the village is on the alert, every countenance bears the expression of concern; and yet shall thousands fall in an engagement,

or pine out their miserable lives in captivity, or pass their remaining days on earth in a sort of living death through their wounds, or cause to their surviving friends an age of mourning; and scarcely a thought will be given by the world to these effects, or an attempt be desired by it beforehand to adjust the differences which lead directly to them. What an inexplicable thing is human nature! How greatly do our crimes furnish our woes!

But there are other consequences of war, beside the bodily pangs of the victims and the laceration of feeling to the friends, which deserve notice. The pecuniary embarrassments produced by it afford another striking exemplification of its evil tendency. These, compared with other effects, will be accounted slight; yet are they, in fact, the causes of much and long continued personal suffering.

The immediate consequence of war on commerce is to stop it almost entirely. War may, indeed, produce a feverish activity among a few classes of manufacturers, and force a portion of the capital of the belligerent nations into new channels for a time; but then all this is nothing in comparison of the money and the hands which are altogether deprived of opportunities of exercise; and the articles which are produced for the purposes of warfare want the germinating power which peaceful manufactures possess; one remarkable characteristic of which is, that they multiply the demands for industry, as they supply those demands. No sooner has war been declared than the merchant-ship-

ping of each power finds itself placed in new and embarrassing circumstances. Much of it is compelled to remain altogether in port; the portion that endeavours to maintain a traffic is obliged to endure the delays and the expense, as it needs the protection of a warlike convoy. A few of the better built and swifter merchant-ships relinquish their useful and honourable occupations to join in the strife; and, under letters of marque, take up the character which their commanders and crews have previously most dreaded and abhorred, namely, that of pirates. This last would most probably be the distinction of the beautiful and fast ships now plying as "Liners" between the American and British ports; though on which side they would be compelled to fight may be doubtful, as they are as much the property of British as of American houses. Nor does agriculture languish less than trade. Under peculiar circumstances the effect of war may not be immediately injurious to this branch of industry. In the late French war, for instance, the English markets were greatly raised, but in the long run the consequences are most fatal. Witness the distresses of the farmers and landed proprietors on the return of peace, when the unnatural prices suddenly failed. And this is taking the most favorable supposition. But let a country be the field of war—and this must always be the case somewhere—and then let the results to agriculture be viewed. Instead of waving harvests and prosperous husbandmen; what are the features that strike the eye after a year or two's campaigning?

The young men have been taken from the plough and the wain, to drive the artillery horses and to form the ranks, the villages are devastated, the fields neglected, famine succeeds to plenty and pestilence to health! Alas! for the land which is trampled by the war horse, and illumined by the torch of strife! The injury is inflicted in a few days, or months; but a generation must pass away ere the region visited by this scourge shall recover from the ruin, and regain the advantages of peace. "Why do you think, Sire, of attempting a descent on England? you cannot hold it!" was the question put by a general of Napoleon to that gifted but ambitious man. "True;" was his reply, "I do not think of attempting to retain it; but if I can spread my troops upon it for a week, I can so despoil it, as that no Englishman shall be able to live in it for a hundred years to come!" We deem, however, that our insular position preserves us from the probability of invasion. Granted; but when we contemplate entering upon a war, we do in effect but propose to produce such evils on some other soil.

How great a reproach to Christendom is it, that any of the nations, should ever be found acting in a spirit which might justify the remarks of the ancient Briton Calgacus, respecting the Romans: "*Quorum superbiam frustra per obsequium et modestiam effugeris: raptores orbis, postquam cuncta vastantibus defuere terræ, et mare scrutantur: si locuples hostis est, avari; si pauper, ambitiosi: quos non Oriens, non Occidens, satiaverit: soli omnium, opes atque*

inopiam pari affectu concupiscunt : auferre, trucidare, rapere falsis nominibus, *imperium*; atque, ubi solitudinem faciunt, *pacem* appellant.”*

A single remark will suffice on the methods to which war compels governments for the supply of men. At first bounties are offered; but these after a time fail to bring forward recruits. Conscriptions and impressments follow. Thus we act out upon our own shores a system of man stealing, worse in some respects than the slave trade. We force unwilling victims upon crimes and sufferings the most appalling which human nature can know. This fact speaks volumes. A theory which pleads necessity for the infringement of man's most obvious natural rights must in itself be atrocious.

But another evil consequence connected with fiscal matters remains to be spoken of, viz., the taxation which so surely follows warlike deeds. Coleridge, in his piquant lines called the “Devil's Walk,” thus describes the feelings of that personage during one portion of his progress.

As he stood upon Westminster Bridge he saw
A pig down the river float;
The pig swam well, but at every stroke,
It was cutting its own throat.

He looked on the sight with gloating eyes
Of joy and exultation,
For it put him in mind of his daughter war,
And her darling child taxation!”

* C. C. Tacit. Agric. 30.

State burdens are a long continued memento of martial glory. We are not in much danger of forgetting our victories to be sure ; but if we were, the tax-gatherer is a sort of " flapper," who may serve half-yearly to recal our attention to them ; but then, what is not quite so flattering to the national vanity, his book bears also the account of our disasters ! These are some of the cords made by our " pleasant vices " to whip us ; and that, too, long enough after " honour has pricked us on." We are still paying for some of the heroic acts of our great great grandfathers. It is true that a national debt is by some thought to be an advantage ; I will not now dispute that point ; but this may be said, that no one who has lived in a country in which imposts are scarcely known can fail of being sensible of the evil done to human happiness by a weight of taxation. It is a pressure upon the springs of virtuous industry, which, if a people is enabled to rise from, only proves how much more would be in their power, were they not suffering from the depression. But as it is well for us to know the precise results of our wars in this respect I subjoin a tabular view which will put us in possession of the facts.* It commences with the Revolution of 1688.

Such is an abstract of our warlike expenditure up to the peace of Paris in 1814. The outlay caused by the subsequent struggle during the ninety days which terminated in the battle of Waterloo, deserves to be mentioned by itself. The British expenditure for that period is considered to have averaged 1,000,000*l.* a day !

* See opposite.

No. of Wars.	With whom.	Reign.	When begun.	When ended.	By whom ended, and where.	Duration of each War. Years. Months. Days.	Duration of each Peace. Years. Months. Days.	Debt begin- ning of each War.	Debt Contracted in each War.	Total Debt at end of each War.	Debt Paid off each Peace.	Average Annual Revenue.
1	France . . .	W. III. . .	May 7, 1689	Feb. 10, 1697	{ Earl Pem- broke, at Rhyswick }	7. 9. 3	4. 2. 22	664,262	20,035,707	20,700,000	4,900,000	3,000,000
2	Fr. & Spain.	Anne . . .	M. 4, 1701 . .	Mar. 13, 1713	{ Stratford, at Utrecht }	11.10. 9	5. 9. 3	16,500,000	35,500,000	52,000,000	2,000,000	3,700,000
3	Spain	G. I. . . .	Dec. 16, 1718	Jun. 13, 1721	{ Somerset, at Madrid }	2. 5. 28	18. 4. 6	50,000,000	6,000,000	56,000,000	6,000,000	4,000,000
4	Spain	G. II.	Oct. 19, 1739	Oct. 18, 1748	{ Sandwich, at Aix-la- chapelle }	8.11.30	7. 7. 0	50,000,000	28,000,000	78,000,000	4,000,000	6,000,000
5	France . . .	G. II.-III. . .	M. 18, 1756	Feb. 10, 1763	{ D. Bedford at Fontain- bleau }	6. 3. 21	12. 2. 9	74,000,900	73,000,000	147,000,000	11,000,000	7,000,000
6	America, &c.	G. III. . . .	Ap. 19, 1775	Sep. 3, 1783 . .	{ Mr. Gren- ville, Paris }	8. 4. 15	9. 5. 8	136,000,000	110,000,000	246,000,000	Sinking fund has	11,000,000
7	France	G. III. . . .	Feb. 11, 1793	Mar. 27, 1802	{ Cornwallis at Amiens }	9. 1. 16	11.11	272,000,000	347,000,000	619,000,000	paid off	25,000,000
8	France, &c. . .	G. III. . . .	Mar. 9, 1803	Ap. 10, 1814.	{ Sovereigns at Fontain- bleau. }	11. 1. 1		619,000,000	488,000,000	779,000,000	upwards of	100,000,000

The above table has been copied from the Pantologia of Dr. Olinthus Gregory :—with the exception of the last line, which has been collected with some difficulty from other sources ; and for the complete accuracy of which the author does not vouch.

The other nations must have incurred, if not equal, yet vast expenses ! While as to America it may be sufficient to state, that such was the want of money produced there by our last brief war, that bank notes were in circulation for one halfpenny sterling.

It is true that the energies of the British people are equal to entering upon further wars, and that such is our capital and credit, that the sums we might yet raise in case of emergency are incalculable ; it is likewise true, that the United States, which were growing rich by being the carriers of the world during our late awful struggle with the nations, and which has within the last four or five years been enabled to pay off the debts which it had contracted in war, by a system of duties upon all imported articles, chiefly British, and the sale of public lands, for the most part to emigrants from the British isles (both of which sources of revenue must be checked, if not entirely stopped, by war with us) ; it is true, that these two nations might renew conflicts which have now happily subsided ; yet how fatal to the interests of both must be an outbreak. How many bankruptcies, how much misery arising from pecuniary difficulties will inevitably ensue. No man will argue that the British have not burdens enough at present. Nor will any prudent person think that America, whatever be the resources of her soil, and the enterprise of her people, is fitted, just as she is rising from the effects of the fire of 1835, and the panic of 1836, to undertake such an expensive service.

The British expenditure in Portugal during the

late war was 1,000,000*l.* per week. No company would farm the expenses of either Britain or America, I should think, should they engage in a conflict, for less than half that sum for the same time. It would probably cost the British most, because they would be at the expense of transport to Canada; but there are points which deserve more peculiarly the consideration of America. For instance, what is there that can so much endanger the American Union as war with Britain? The southerners could reap no advantage from the extension of territory to the north of their own country; while they look to ours as the chief market for their produce. This of itself is sufficient to make them regard with coldness such a project; while the fact of their dwelling amidst a population of 2,250,500 slaves, who are known to be favourable to the British in consequence of our emancipation acts, would render a rupture the most fatal thing to their interests that can be well imagined. I was told, when in the States, by an American officer of high standing, that it had been ascertained on good authority, that the French had designed in case the differences between themselves and the States in 1835 had proceeded to extremities, to train the slaves in Martinique and Guadaloupe to arms, and to promise them liberty on the condition that they, in company with a suitable European force, and 100,000 spare stands of arms, should land in Florida, and proclaim freedom to all American negroes who would join the standard. The same thing was

talked of among the British authorities during the last war with America, but the design was laid aside at that time, on the ground that it would produce rebellion among the slaves of our own colonies.

Now, however, that slavery in the West Indies has expired, that difficulty has also ceased, the negroes would enter with enthusiasm into the measure, and no doubt the effect of it would be very decisive. Sincerely as I desire to hear of the wise emancipation and moral elevation of the slaves throughout the world, I shudder at the contemplation of such a catastrophe as this! The chain and the whip would be carried away in a torrent of the white man's blood. The southern states would become a miserable and degraded negro empire, strong enough, with the help of their climate, and their swamps and mountains, to make the recovery of it on the part of the whites hopeless, yet with neither enterprise nor civilization enough to render the inhabitants either happy or useful. It would take centuries to restore the south to any thing like its present flourishing condition. Doubtless the chivalrous Southerners, like the patriotic New Englanders, who during the late war refused at great personal inconvenience to use any British manufactures, would be ready to do and to bear much for the justly valued union, for

"Old Virginie neber tire!"—(Negro chorus.)

But when thus, not only their prosperity, but their influence over their coloured neighbours, their

estates, their families were periled, would they not pause and consider before they took up the sword? would no disposition be manifested to make a second convention like that of Hartford, in Connecticut, which expressed the unwillingness of the New Englanders to combine their forces against the mother country—"home" as many still kindly and fondly call Old England; and which would not have been broken up but for the advance of the British general Rosse to Washington, and his burning of the capitol, with military honor no doubt, but in miserable retaliation, for the conflagration, on the American part, of Toronto. I am sorry to have been obliged to dwell on these points; my mind recoils from them; I have only adduced them to remind both peoples, as far as this little treatise may extend, of the probable statistic results of their engaging in a war.

One word more—Britain is said to have spent £1,500,000,000 sterling on her wars; what would not £1,500,000,000 laid out in promoting the welfare of our race accomplish!

But the reader's mind will now be prepared to perceive that there are worse effects from war than either the pangs of the wounded and dying, the anguish of their friends, or the monetary embarrassments of the nations; I allude to the moral consequences certain to arise. "Men are not stocks and stones;" they cannot be spectators or hearers of such things, and not be moved in mind by the relation. It is passion that first leads to war, and war again results in stirring up all the

baser and more violent passions. Craft, anger, hatred, debauchery, revenge; all that there is of the serpent or of the tiger in the heart is brought forth by war. "It setteth on fire the course of nature, and is itself set on fire of hell!" We cannot imagine a sight on which angels, if such are affected by the things of earth, can look with equal abhorrence and grief, or over which devils would more fully rejoice, than that of two nations preparing for war. All friendly feeling, with all friendly intercourse, is banished. The heavenly affections due from man to man, and which alone can suitably prepare us for dwelling in bliss together in a future state, by making us, while on earth, helpers of each other's peace and joy, the bearers of each other's burdens, the communicators to each other of happiness, are at once lost sight of. To devour and murder is henceforth the sole aim of those who should be brethren; to sink, burn, or destroy, the almost satanic commission with which men scour the seas. Prayers to a common God, and through a common Saviour, are offered for mutual destruction. He who can by force or fraud most annoy or injure God's noblest work on earth, is honoured as the greatest of human beings; every social tie is broken, virtue is accounted folly, and vice deemed the highest virtue. Oh the infatuation of the heart, that can thus say "evil be thou my good," and can be willing itself to enter, or to force others, upon an untried eternity, and to the bar of God, unprepared,

presumptuous, with blood upon the hands, curses on the lips, hell in the heart!

"The reflection," says Paley, a writer unequalled in his peculiar excellencies, though very defective as to the foundations of morals, "the reflection calculated above all others to allay that haughtiness of temper which is ever finding out provocations, and which renders anger so impetuous, is that which the Gospel proposes; viz., that we ourselves are, or shortly shall be, suppliants for mercy and pardon at the judgment seat of God. Imagine our secret sins all disclosed and brought to light: imagine us thus humbled and exposed; trembling under the hand of God; casting ourselves on his compassion; crying out for mercy—imagine such a creature to talk of satisfaction and revenge; refusing to be entreated, disdaining to forgive, extreme to mark and to resent what is done amiss; imagine, I say, this, and you can hardly frame to yourself an instance of more impious and unnatural arrogance."*

But the moral evils of war are not confined, any more than its physical and social sufferings, to the period or circumstances of the campaign. They branch out in every direction and extend for generations. A highlander, who was dying, was visited by a minister of religion: the divine pressed him to repentance, and asked him if he retained any known sin. The dying man was silent. The minister began to re-

* Paley, M. Phil. p. 166.

capitulate his possible offences, and especially dwelt upon the duty of forgiveness. Still the highlander made no reply; at length the clergyman asked him why he was silent, and expressed his fear that his conscience was not clear on this point. The highlander acknowledged, "True, I received an affront in early life from a Græme, who acted as he did, in part, from being of a rival clan; and I cannot forgive the man." He was again exhorted to put aside thoughts and feelings so unsuited to a dying hour. Once more he became buried in silence, when the minister further accosted him in the same terms. At last he burst forth in the exclamation, "Well, then, if I must forgive the Græme, I do forgive him; but, (turning to his son, a child who sat weeping by his bed-side), may a curse fall upon you, Donald, if ever you forgive Michael Græme!" This instance may be extreme, yet, making all requisite deductions, enough will remain to show the enduring nature of resentment, the depth of feeling with which injuries are brooded over in the mind, and, in short, that absorbing power thereof, which (to cite a further instance) led another dying soldier to say,—when, expressing his hatred against his enemies, he was reminded of the saying, "Vengeance is mine," saith the Lord, "I will repay."—"Ah! I suppose vengeance must belong to God, for it is too sweet a morsel for any child of man!"

And this spirit of hostility, in various degrees, and modified according to circumstances, is found to per-

vade the minds of the greater part of the inhabitants of countries who have fallen into war ; and that too, for an almost indefinite period. Witness the results in this respect between England and France ; the decaying, it is hoped, yet still unexpired embers of their former fiery contest. There is in nature and reason no more cause for ill-feeling between the inhabitants of the two sides of the channel, than there is for the existence of such a spirit between the people of Kent and Essex, of Long Island and Connecticut ; for surely no one will contend that twenty miles of water offers a more valid motive, in the reason of things, for contempt and dislike, than one mile ; or that our love and our hatred ought to be calculated by the square league and apportioned by the compasses on a map. The same is equally true between the British and the Americans ; and until it can be proved that the latitude and longitude of a place form the proper grounds for the exercise towards its people of our sympathies, or the reverse, it must remain certain that nothing can be more wicked than these narrow and ill-judging prejudices. It seems, indeed, a law of our social nature that our charities should begin at home. He who attends the best to domestic duties will be most prepared to extend his benevolence through the earth. But our danger is that of suffering our feelings to be too much concentrated on objects around us. We forget how essentially the human heart is alike in every part of the earth.

Hence is it that we are so ready to take up a

quarrel and to run to arms ; and hence do provocations increase in a sort of geometrical progression. Each crime produces many ; each sarcasm begets a legion. It has been well said, that the blood of martyrs is the seed of the church ; nor is it less sure that the blood of heroes is the germ of fresh wars. Few incidents in history are more affecting than the meeting of Montcalme and Wolfe upon the heights of Abraham ; both eminently courageous and skilful ; both in the flower of age, yet both at that melancholy interview suffering the agonies of death. But though the Canadian territory was wrested from its French possessors—though an action was achieved which for brilliancy never was surpassed—though the war was concluded ; yet the leprosy is after nearly half a century breaking out anew ; and it is impossible not to trace the present American troubles to the conquest of that cheerless region, the subjugation of those few settlers !

But there are peculiar evils of a moral nature connected with the chance of hostilities between the States and Britain. Our language is one, and that alone, if there be war, will be a cause of the increase and prolongation of ungenerous tempers ; for every vindictive or cutting speech of one party is sure to be reverberated by the other. Then, as the hate of brothers is proverbially strong, so, should enmity arise between us, we both have to fear unmitigated fierceness. Then, being chiefly of the Anglo-Saxon race, we are likely to carry on matters with the energy

and perseverance usually attributed to that family. Then, being the freest peoples in the world, we shall afford a sad spectacle, whimsical, if it were not awful and execrable, to every less favored nation; a spectacle which all the tyrants on earth will be sure to rejoice in, and, while they stir the flames, to point out to their vassals what they will call the consequences of free institutions. Then, as there are many Christians and philanthropists on both sides of the water, who are with equal ardour desiring the conversion and improvement of the nations lying in darkness, all their combined efforts must be stopped, and their separate efforts checked and injured by the quarrel. Then, as we are worshippers of the same Great God of truth and mercy, and mutually receive a revelation, the grand object of which was to promote glory to God in the highest, *peace on earth, — and good will towards men*, nothing surely can be more inconsistent than our contentions. The fact is, men blind their minds to the thought of the real effects of war. They ought to revere, but they are apt to deify the thought of the national honour; and dividing, as it were, the responsibility among millions, are willing to give that suffrage to human misery in a mass, which, were it possible for matters to be left to them personally, they would utterly shrink from. Thus we put our leaders in false positions, and induce them, at times, to plans and acts of hostility, which doubtless they themselves often view with the deepest regret; or which, if during the excitement they are thought

lightly of, are likely to recur to them with bitterness in after life, and to yield them anguish on the bed of death. It is not only the common soldier in the field who often feels in the spirit of the man, who, leaning thoughtfully on his musket at the close of the battle of Vittoria, in answer to the question, "What are you thinking about?" replied, "I was thinking how many widows and orphans I have made this day for a shilling!" It is not merely the actual combatants who will suffer the sting of remorse for the marks of blood upon their hands. War, as it tends to demoralize the minds of the *chiefs*, cannot fail of giving them likewise anguish in the closing hours of life; when, as old age is second childhood, some of the best feelings, as well as of the infirmities of our helpless years, return. The melancholy death of Napoleon illustrates this remark. "His hours were now numbered. From the third of May he seemed to be in a continued heavy sleep. The fifth was a day of unexampled tempest in the island: trees were every where torn up by the roots, the sea lashed and rent the shores, the clouds poured down torrents, the winds burst through the hills with the loudness of thunder. In this roar of the elements, Napoleon perhaps heard the old echoes of battle; the last words on his lips were of war; "tête d'armée," was uttered in his dream; and he died. The fiery spirit passed away like Cromwell's, in storm!"*

But painful reflections seem to be the necessary

* Croly's Life of George the Fourth.

possession of all connected with war. The minister of state suffers no less than his instruments. "In the year 1787, Lord North's sight," says Lady Charlotte Lindsay, his daughter, and therefore, of course, a witness who would speak as tenderly as possible of her father's state of mind, "began rapidly to fail him, and in the course of a few months he became totally blind, in consequence of a palsy on the optic nerve. His nerves had always been very excitable, and it is probable that the anxiety of mind which he suffered during the protracted contest with America, still more than his necessary application to writing, brought on this calamity, which he bore with the most admirable patience and resignation; nor did it affect his general cheerfulness in society. But the privation of all power of dissipating his mind by outward objects, or of solitary occupation, could not fail to produce at times extreme depression of spirits, especially as the malady proceeded from the disordered state of his nerves. Those fits of depression seldom occurred, except during sleepless nights, when my mother used to read to him, until he was amused out of them, or put to sleep."

Mr. Wilberforce remarks, that the battle of Austerlitz was as certainly the cause of death to Mr. Pitt, who ended his course it will be remembered at the early age of 44, as it was to any who fell in the field. Contrast these reflections and feelings, with those of the Christian philanthropist—the man of holiness and peace, on the death-bed, and you will learn

how evil and how bitter a thing it is to be a hero ! and how wrong, therefore, of a nation to urge on any of its people to such a career.

Nothing has been said of the effects of a disbanded army upon society. We suppose a war terminated. The troops return to their homes. They have been accustomed to pillage, to debaucheries, rapes, and murders, in their earlier life; they have had no conscience but the will of their commander, no business but that of doing injury to their foes ; can it be thought that these persons will resume the useful life of peaceful citizens; has the wild excitement of the camp fitted them for the regular industry of the farm, or given them the needful skill for the workshop ? or rather, have not good habits almost universally fled ; and do not they who went forth to be a terror to their country's enemies return, if they return at all, to inflict injuries scarcely less deep upon its population. Yes ; not only is so much good labour taken by a nation from the improvement of its own land, and cast away unprofitably ; but when they, who could have bestowed that labour tread again their native hills, they cause them to be rank with moral weeds and foul with crime ! This is a thought which deserves well the consideration of every people who delight in war. It is of importance to Britain, whose land could yet sustain a population more dense than it at present does ; or whose sons might at least be encouraged to spread themselves over the fertile wildernesses with which the earth abounds ; it is of yet higher moment to America, whose wealth is her peo-

ple and who, should she withdraw her sons from the plough and give them the rifle, must do that thing which shall most tend to restrain her growth, and delay her conquest over the forest and the prairie.

The feelings and prosperity of the emigrants likewise certainly deserve some commiseration : for these are quiet persons, who, led by the promises and hopes of the new world, have been contented to change their home, on the general faith of the continuance of peace. In a generation or two, if unmolested, they will become one in spirit with the inhabitants of the land in which they are gone to dwell ; and, in the meantime, are adding, in peace, to the strength ;—in war, to the weakness of those who have received them. It were unfortunate, if they who have encouraged the strangers to emigrate ; and who, I gladly testify, treat them with such courtesy and generosity when they are among them, should by any extraneous circumstances be led to turn against them ! Such a course would also be no less impolitic ; for in the need of population which exists in America, the States possessing at the present moment a territory equal to the support of 150,000,000 of people, while their whole population does not exceed 13,000,000, it is desirable for them to have their numbers increased more rapidly than they could be by the ordinary prolificness of the human race. Yet, of the emigrants it may be stated, that as the exports in material to Britain are sixty-five in every eighty of all the similar exports from the United States ; so the imports of people from Bri-

tain to America in comparison of the imports from other countries form certainly no less a portion. But all emigration would cease on the declaration of war; nor would it be resumed until many years after a subsequent peace.

Such, then, are the effects of war. Such, and other such, the sorrows we should mutually prepare for ourselves by changing our present happy, and increasingly important peace relations for international discord.

His et mille aliis postquam sine nomine rebus
Propositum instruxit mortali barbara munus!

Ov. MET. 7, 275.

Shall both nations then be contented to jeopardize the position they enjoy? Shall they risk a universal and horrible war? For no doubt, as other powers are already watching us, so it would not be long that we should either suffer ourselves, or be suffered to fight single-handed. Every nation who owed either of the combatants a grudge, or should think it could profit by the fray, (unless, at least, they should be found far more righteous than ourselves), would enlist on one side, or the other: we might begin the strife, but where, when, or how it would end, who can say?

The war of 1793 was undertaken ostensibly to protect the Dutch—to prevent the Scheldt from being opened—to rescue the Netherlands from France, and to restore them to the emperor. These, however, were mere pretexts, the real intention,—and an object with which we had rightfully *nothing* to do,

was to interpose with the national government of France, and to restore the throne to the Bourbons. It is needless to say how signally the object has been defeated; and now England does not even wish for its accomplishment! "Duelling," says Paley, "as a punishment, is absurd." But what is war, but national duelling; and wherein is the recourse to arms by millions less absurd than by individuals? Is it not rather infinitely more so; as it is more wicked and more fatal?

But doubtless, both the Americans and ourselves must have some very important end in view, if we think of an appeal to arms when there is before us all this certainty of crime and woe, this uncertainty as to every beneficial result from war. Let us contemplate this object for a moment. It is no part of the design of these pages to plunge the reader into that sea of diplomacy, which, from the year 1783 to the present moment, has been flowing in upon this question of the north-eastern boundary.

Those who delight in protocols, reports, despatches, and official communications of all kinds, may certainly find in this business a full field in which to expatiate; such may consult the folio volumes with copies of which I saw the shelves of the Library in the Fanueil Hall, Boston, laden four years ago, and which, added to as they since have been, and remarked upon by newspapers on both sides of the Atlantic, may from their "lengthiness" afford abundant satisfaction for the most indefatigable amateur in this way.

Further comments on such a mass of evidence would be only like the glosses and explanations of the schoolmen upon Aristotle, which have but served to render "darkness visible." One point however deserves to be kept in memory, viz. — that the land about which the dispute is held, is of little comparative value to either party at present, and is not likely to be of much more importance than it is, in our generation. So that if we fight, it will be for the benefit of posterity; a new reason for war, very creditable doubtless to the inventive genius of the age in which we live, but which yet admits of the question, whether we might not as well leave it to our heirs to settle their own disputes. But then, as a basis of settlement, might not the question be offered to the final arbitration of some disinterested third party; with this understanding, that as the general governments of the two nations are evidently disposed for an amicable arrangement, if on the conclusion of the matter by the arbitrator either Maine or the colonies should think themselves aggrieved, the general governments should purchase the land in dispute, each of its own party, accordingly as the difficulty might be stated, respectively. Such a purchase would not cost either country so much as the equipment of a line of battle ship, and the boundary might be struck and the matter might be ended without delay.

Obvious as such a suggestion may be, I have not seen it mentioned; but it appears to my mind simple,

feasible, and decisive; devoid of all injury to the national honor on either side, and such as it is for the interest of the lesser powers, the local governments (who are by far the most vehement) to adopt. The disposition manifested by Britain to mediate between France and America at least proves her general desire for the maintenance of pacific relations with all parties.

It is told by a Chamois hunter, that being on one occasion in the mountains, he saw two goats, who without observing the difficulty in which they would be placed, had at the same moment walked in opposite directions along a fallen tree which crossed a deep ravine. They met of course in the middle, and the question was what should be done. It was impossible for them to turn back, and equally so to pass. At first they evidently thought of trying their strength, and began to push each other; but they soon found that this would be a dangerous expedient, as there was every probability that they would topple down together and be dashed to pieces. They paused,—

I will not ask Jean Jacques Rousseau
If beasts confabulate or no;

but at least after waiting long enough to confer on the matter, one of his own accord quietly lay down and suffered the other to spring over his back. Thus they both escaped; and do you not think that the next time they should come near each other it would

be much better for them to be quietly feeding together in pleasant pastures, than that their mangled carcasses should lie side by side in the valley for the ravens to pluck out their eyes? or do you suppose that the hunter would deem that either of them acted unworthily in thus settling a difficult matter, or that he would not rather admire the instinct which could lead to such an end. Then let us be not less wise; let us attend to the voice of reason as did the chamois to that of nature; let us make up with our adversary whiles we are in the way, lest consequences should arise which both parties will afterwards surely deplore, though we may not, cannot retrace!

No doubt the contests which took place in the dark ages on the subject of the Aristotelian philosophy were thought by the combatants to have been undertaken on very worthy grounds, and when mourners could say, "Our friend is gone to be sure, and never shall we look upon his like again, but then think what he shed his blood for; yes! he died for a quiddity! what reason have we to rejoice?" Or when the inhabitants of a town which had been sacked could encourage each other by the thought, "Well! we fly, our *houses are burnt*, our *harvests destroyed*, our *little ones killed*, our *peace ruined*, but then a sophism of Occam 'the most subtil' is with us, or a sorites of Duns Scotus 'the invincible' is overthrown;"—when such were the objects, such the triumphs—men would perhaps think their losses scarcely worth the mention. Yet we have learn-

ed after the lapse of a few centuries to laugh at the follies, while we lament the wickedness, which led to such idle heats. Yes, we have put away the great Aristotle himself, by the introduction of a better system of Philosophy. But will not a future age consider the present rivalry of Britain and America as equally futile, and unworthy. Will they not wonder how two nations, the most similar, the most allied by nature and by interests, of any on earth, could be brought to the edge of a fierce and interminable war by such a cause as that which now divides us? The present is a material, not a speculative age. Another period may arrive of greater wisdom and purity than either, which will deem a contest about an uncultivated forest as really trifling as about a forest of words.

There are however some pre-disposing causes which have nothing to do with the dispute, yet bear upon the question in hand. The chief of these is the different forms of government of the two empires. Yet this is a most idle controversy. If we can benefit each other by the discussion, well and good; let the matter be discussed fully; but if the Americans invade our territories or we retaliate upon the Americans for such a reason, how sinful is the conduct and how unlikely to lead to a relish for each other's views.

Sympathy is abstractedly an excellent thing; nothing can be better. We ought to be ready on all occasions to feel for the woes of our fellow creatures,

and to "interpose defence." But we should take care that the objects who receive, deserve our aid, and no less that that aid be limited by the laws of justice and mercy. The "sympathisers" on the American frontier have certainly violated both these plain rules of common sense and common feeling. They have endeavoured to assist a people suffering but little (on their own showing) from governmental pressure, unburdened by taxes, and prosperous; and the mass of whom have been rather behind than in advance of the neighbouring British in virtuous energy and the love of freedom. They have too, instead of waiting for the quiet flow of events, and the force of persuasion, assisted in spreading desolation through an unoffending province. Surely no good man of either country can regard them in any other light than as marauders and murderers. They may be free, but their minds are iron-bound in ignorance and prejudice. They may think of exalting republicanism; but they expose it to the disgust of the civilized world.

Assuredly the rugged youths whom I saw in Westminster Hall looked as little like Philanthropists as can be well imagined; yet they could draw a trigger and so were, perhaps, good enough for their trade.

They'd fill a ditch as well as better men.

Yet were these "sympathisers" or those who have promoted clandestinely their views, really in earnest

in relieving the woes of suffering humanity ; it would be possible to point their attention to some other portions of our race, more abject than the half feudal, half ochlocratic French Canadians ; and whom, too, they would not be compelled to invade a neighbouring territory to relieve. But we turn with aversion from all such sympathisers and such sympathy. The reign of peace is not to be promoted by contention, nor the happiness of man by crime.

The forms of government likewise in Britain and America are practically far more alike than the violent of either party may be disposed to admit : and I who have lived under both systems must avow, that I can discern, as far as an ordinary man's personal walk is concerned, but little difference. Each form has its advantages and its failings, and each country enjoys more of all that may be deemed the most substantial blessings of life than probably any other land in the world. But this matter has been put in so good a light by Mr. Jacob Abbott, that I conclude what I have to say upon the point by quoting him —

“ After all, however, it is comparatively little which the Christian community can do beyond its own bounds ; and our great work, therefore, is to expand those bounds as rapidly as possible, and to purify and perfect all that is within them. True piety, consisting, as it does, in honest obedience to God, and heartfelt benevolence towards man, will do its work in securing human happiness as fast and far as it can go itself.

It is but a penumbra,—a twilight, of virtue and happiness, which can, by the best of efforts, be carried beyond. We toil to alter human institutions,—forms of government,—modes of religious organization,—or systems of social economy, where we find them bearing heavily upon the welfare or the happiness of men. We forget that it is human depravity which gives to human institutions all their efficiency in evil, and while the depravity remains, it matters little in what forms it tyrannizes over the rights and happiness of men. A despotic monarch can do no more mischief than a tyrannical democracy ; in fact, on the catalogue of human despots, arranged in the order of injustice and cruelty, a Republican Committee of Safety would come first and Nero would have to follow. Where there is cold-blooded depravity in power at the head, and corruption in the mass below, no matter for the forms. So in the church,—the worldly spirit which in England would make a bishop an ambitious politician, or a country pastor an idle profligate,—would in America, under a more democratic organization, show itself in factious struggles between contending parties, or in the wild fanaticism of a religious demagogue. All this does not show that it is of no consequence how our ecclesiastical or political forms are arranged, but only that we are in danger of overrating that consequence, and that our great work is to spread the influence of genuine individual piety every where. This alone can go to the root of the evil. The thing to be done is, not to go on changing institutions, in

the vain hope of finding some form which will work well, while depravity administers it,—but to root out depravity, and then almost any one will work well. We should accordingly learn to look without jealousy and dislike upon the political institutions of other countries even if they do not correspond with our own theoretical notions. The theories of the reflecting portion of the community have but little to do with moulding their institutions; they are regulated by circumstances over which any one generation has but little control. Why, for example, should England quarrel with America for being a republic? If she had wished to be a monarchy, where, I ask, could she have found a king? It requires many centuries to lay any firm foundations for a throne. And why should America quarrel with England because she is a monarchy? Her present constitution of government is an undesigned result of the growth of centuries, that no combination of human powers, which it is possible to effect in a single generation, can safely change."

It remains only to make a practical application of the preceding observations, and to present it with earnestness but respect to the citizens of both countries. This will necessarily be brief, because the duties which under present circumstances offer themselves are of a negative, rather than of a positive character. Yet, though simple, and such as must commend themselves to every patriot and Christian they are of the utmost importance; and

on an attention to them far more than on any legislative enactments depends the decision of the present controversy, and the future amity of the nations. The respective governments are only the organs of each people, and as the will is swayed, and the mind informed of the great masses of our populations, will the diplomatic relations terminate.

Let me then urge, that every thing of an irritating and embarrassing nature in speech, or writing, or action, be at once abstained from. Editors of Newspapers and Periodicals should be informed that the public taste is better than that it can be satisfied with the insolence and rhodomontade with which it is sometimes supplied. A renunciation of subscriptions is the shortest argument that can be used with such persons, if in despite of the best interests and duties of the countries, any of them be found thus fanning the flames of strife. Then, writers of books of travels calculated to wound the feelings, and to give false impressions of the facts relating to either party should meet with merited disapprobation and neglect. Truth, indeed, and personal honour, sometimes require allusions to the condition of things in a sister country; and it may be for the advantage of that country that statements should be made:—especially when persons have taken up their residence in a land, though it be not that of their birth, does there appear to be a

kind of right of affection to touch, as upon its virtues, so upon its faults. For no nation in the present state of things can be pronounced perfect. But then we should cherish love as well as truth in these criticisms; and be anxious to benefit only and not to wound. But more than this;—the Scripture precept runs thus, “in honor preferring one another;” and surely the spirit which is demanded of individuals towards each other is no less beautiful in masses of men towards a neighbouring land. We may in reason cherish our native country; nor less allow the excellency, and desire the welfare of each of her sisters throughout the world. Nothing can be more pitiful than the ignorant and proud pomposity which makes a man think that all blessings and excellencies are concentrated in the soil of his birth; or all propriety in social things limited to the opinions of his youth.

In general, plans have been devised and followed rather from the convenience and disposition of circumstances, than from merely pure theory; and while it is the duty of all, to seek the welfare of all; it is no less so to select favourable opportunities and means for mutual improvement, and to promote good by goodness. The opposite spirit of narrow mindedness and arrogance would be truly ludicrous, were it not so fatal as it is; and reminds one in its exercise and in its consequences of Gulliver at Lilliput; who, according to the exquisite wit of

Swift, being invited to dinner with the king, thought it needful "to eat more than usual for the honour of my dear country, as well as to fill the court with admiration. Yet," as Gulliver continues, "I have some private reasons to believe that this visit gave an opportunity to Flimnap of doing me ill offices to his master:"—and in fact it led to all his after troubles. Thus ever does a covetous or boastful temper lead to sorrow, and, as other

Vices dig their own voluptuous tombs ;

so pride, ambition, and revenge, make to themselves their bed of spikes. Let persons who may be interested (as no doubt at least many millions of people are interested) in the question which has in these pages engaged our attention, consider the justice of the principles which have been set forth : let them beware lest, through inadvertence, they wound the minds of others, or add fuel to the fire already kindling : let them seek that pure "charity which suffereth long and is kind, which envieth not ; which vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth ; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things ;" and they will discover that this most "excellent way" never faileth ; but that, as in all other cases it is the source of strength, and

comfort, and hope; so here it will be the means of rapidly restoring the present severing relations of America and Britain; and cause that to be said of nations which once was said respecting individuals. See how these Christians love one another!

THE END.

LONDON :

Printed by E., B., and G. Clarke, Silver Street, Falcon Square.